in neighbouring countries. Figures often make dry reading, but the following may be of some interest as they demonstrate the mixture of races present in the islands. 162

Nationalities.		Distribution.	
Bahrainis	91,179	Manama	39,648
Persians	6,934	Muharraq and Hedd.	25,577
Indians, Pakistanis and Goanese	3,043	Other towns and villages	40,579
Saudi Arabs	2,526	Awali and ships in port	3,846
Omanis and Muscatis	2,466		
Europeans and Americans	2,208		
Other foreigners	1,264		
	109,650		

Sexes : Males, 58,601. Females, 51,049.
The excess of men over women is due to the number of foreigners working in Bahrain who do not have families with them.

At the current rate of increase it was *estimated* that the population of Bahrain in 1952 was about 115,000 persons, and of Manama, 45,000 persons. [161]

Many races have gone into the making of the Bahrain people ; there are the Baharna, the original inhabitants of the islands, who are said to be descended from Arabs taken by Nebuchadnezzar into Iraq, who later fled from that country and settled in Bahrain. They are Shiite Arabs and live mostly in the villages and in certain quarters of Manama. Formerly the Baharna were second class citizens and were content to farm and work for their masters, but today they take an active part in all walks of life in Bahrain. Then there are the Sunni Arabs, most of whom came to Bahrain in the 18th century and during subsequent years ; the Ruling Family of Bahrain, the al-Khalifah, are in this group. There are also a number of negroes, mainly of the Sunni sect, who are descended from freed slaves or who were slaves themselves and escaped from other parts of the Gulf to Bahrain where they were manumitted. Persians have also settled in the islands, having left the trials and tribulations of their own country to seek their fortune in Bahrain. 563

It might here be as well to digress slightly from this description of the people of Bahrain to explain the meaning of "Shiite" and "Sunni," terms which so often appear in descriptions of Bahrain and its history. These names refer to the two main sects of Islam between whom the people of Bahrain are about equally divided. 795

The dispute that was to split the Moslems into two rival camps started soon after the death of the Prophet Muhammad in 632 A.D. and concerned the future leadership of the young Moslem community which was so rapidly expanding and sweeping over territories which are known today as Iraq, Palestine, Syria, Egypt and Persia. The Prophet was succeeded by two of his Companions, who had stood at his side from the early days of his ministry, Abu Bakr (A.D. 632-34) and Omar (A.D. 634-44), and on the death of the latter a third Compan-

3: Bahrain G-5 (1950) 1950 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

BAHRAIN'S SECOND CENSUS

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THE 1359 (1941) CENSUS. The first General Census of Bahrain was taken on the 22nd January 1941. Previous to this there were no accurate figures about the population of Bahrain although figures were given in various books of reference showing the number of inhabitants as being as much as 200,000. The basis of these estimates, which were so wide of the mark, is not known; they were not calculated from the numbers of births and deaths because the registration of births and deaths is not yet compulsory in Bahrain, it is however a measure which the Government hopes soon to introduce.

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In 1359 the Government announced by proclamation that there was to be a counting of the people. The news was received with disapproval and suspicion by a large proportion of the community. Few people, except those who had been abroad, believed that the only reason for the census was because the Government wanted to know how many people lived in the country. Many rumours, some of them very wild, became current, especially in the villages. It was said that conscription was to be introduced, that taxation was to be imposed, that a municipality was to be set up in every village and, finally, that no woman in future would be allowed to give birth to a child except in one of the Government hospitals. Some of the rumours were deliberately spread by mischief makers. Another factor which affected the census was the rationing system which allowed a larger ration of cereals to adults than to children under a certain age. Eventually after many public meetings, talks from the Bahrain Broadcasting Station, which was then in action, articles in the local paper and intensive propaganda intended to remove doubts and suspicion this first census was carried out.

RESULTS OF THE CENSUS

POPULATION AND DISTRIBUTION. The number of people in Bahrain on the night of 3rd March 1950 (12th Jamad-al-Awal, 1369) was 109,650. This represents a growth in the population of about 20,000 since the first census was taken in 1941 (1359). The increase was not evenly distributed; in 1941 about 55% of the population lived in the three towns, Manamah, Muharraq and Hedd and the rest of the inhabitants of Bahrain lived in the villages. The proportion of town and country dwellers has changed, the three towns now contain 61% of the population and the villages contain 39%, (these figures do not include Awali). There are about 90 villages and many small hamlets and settlements in Bahrain.

In Manamah the census showed a population of 39,648, an increase of nearly 12,000 (43%) in nine years. The population of Muharraq and Hedd was 25,577, an increase of 4,138 (20%) over the 1941 figure. In the villages, excluding the two Rafaas, there was an increase of only 344.

From records in the Passport Office at the time of the census it appeared that about 6,000 persons, almost all of them males, who normally resided in Bahrain, were absent from the country. It can be assumed that most of these men were working with oil companies and contractors in the neighbouring states. In 1941 very few Bahrain Arabs were working abroad. The proportion of men who are employed outside Bahrain is very high.

The large increase in the population of Manamah is not due to urbanization but it is due to immigration. The village communities especially in the Shia villages are very closely knit and insular so the census clerks had no difficulty in ascertaining whether there had been

CONCLUSIONS

161 The most striking fact which has emerged from the second census of Bahrain is that although there has been an increase in the total population of about 20% in nine years yet this increase is confined to Manamah and Muharraq alone, the growth of the population of Manamah being twice as much as in Muharraq. Even if the number of men who are working abroad is taken into consideration the lack of increase in the rural districts discloses an unsatisfactory state of affairs in the villages which was only revealed 165 by the census. During the preliminary registration, which in the case of the villages took about a fortnight, and the night of the census, the census staff recorded 43 deaths in a village population of about 31,500 (the Arab villages were not included in this total). In one small village with a population of 248 persons there were eight deaths in ten days and in every case the deaths were of very young children, yet no epidemic existed.

464 There is no unemployment in Bahrain and the cost of living in the villages is no higher than it was a few years ago. There is no reason to suppose that the lack of increase in the rural population is due to economic causes.

744 The people in the towns and in the villages which are near the towns make more use every year of the public health facilities which are provided by the Government. Cleanliness and sanitation have improved and the anti-malaria work which the Government has carried out has done much to reduce malaria, but few women patients come to the hospitals from distant villages, although today almost all the villages are on bus routes. From what information can be obtained, without vital statistics, it would appear that infant mortality rate in the villages is extremely high. It used to be equally high in the towns but conditions in this respect in the towns have much improved.

CENSUS STATISTICS

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Town	Census 1941 (1359-60)	Census 1950 (1369)	Increase	Percentage of Increase
Manamah	27,835	39,648	11,813	43 %
Muharraq and Hedd	21,439	25,577	4,138	19½%
Other towns and villages	39,164	40,579	1,415	3½%
Ships at anchor and Awali	1,532	3,846	2,314	150 %
Total population	89,970	109,650	19,680	22 %

DISTRIBUTION BY SEX

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Sex	Census 1941 (1359-60)	Census 1950 (1369)	Increase	Percentage of Increase
Males	48,267	58,601	10,334	21½%
Females	41,703	51,049	9,346	22½%
Total population	89,970	109,650	19,680	22 %

REVIEW OF 1372

000 The two most important events during the year were the conclusion of a new oil agreement between the Government and the Bahrain Petroleum Company and His Highness Shaikh Sulman's first visit to Europe to attend the coronation of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth.

471 651 439 The new oil agreement was on a 50—50 basis on the same lines as other agreements which have recently been made between governments and oil companies in the Middle East, it also provided for a payment to the State on oil imported into Bahrain for refining. As a result of this agreement the total revenue for the year under review was 373¼ lakhs of rupees, approximately £2[illegible]0,000, though the new scale of payments was not in operation throughout the whole of 1372.

652 657 Expenditure was higher than in 1371. Excluding the one third of the oil revenue, which is paid to the Privy Purse, 48 per cent. of the State's expenditure was on social and public services; Education, Public Health, Public Protection and grants to Municipalities absorbed 18¼ per cent., 15-3/8 per cent., 10-4/5 per cent., and 3 per cent. respectively, including capital expenditure on new schools, dispensaries and police quarters. The demand for more schools and hospitals is continuous and insistent but few Bahrain people realise the heavy recurrent cost of medical and education services which can be maintained on the present scale only as long as the present revenue continues.

651 511 342 471 Trade flourished and the revenue from customs was higher than in the previous year; during recent years customs collections have risen annually. Local prosperity was apparent from what might be described as a building boom. Many new houses and shops were built in the towns and suburbs by private enterprise. The type of house varied from European style bungalows and blocks of flats, built by merchants and shaikhs for letting, to small stone houses which are gradully replacing barastis, palm branch huts. Several serious fires in barasti areas, which destroyed many dwellings, gave an impetus to building. Working men who owned pieces of ground built small houses and the Government received hundreds of applications from people who wished to buy building plots. Unfortunately the Government owns very little land in and around the towns, much of it having been given away or sold cheaply many years ago.

511 167 161 The standard of living in Bahrain is very much higher than it was a few years ago and the health of the people is noticeably better than it used to be. For these reasons and owing to a steady influx of foreigners, mostly from Oman and the Trucial Coast, who come to Bahrain to work, it is believed that there has been a substantial increase in the population which at the time of the last census, in 1950, was found to be 110,000.

578 The state of public security was good in spite of the presence of large a number of foreigners who are not as naturally law abiding as the people of Bahrain. There were no political or labour disturbances.

648 439 Relations with Quatar deteriorated owing to incidents connected with the visit of a party of Bahrain schoolboys and school teachers to Zubara during the Spring holiday. The commercial development of Qatar tended to reduce Bahrain's transit trade and deprived some of the Bahrain merchants of agencies which used to include both Bahrain and Qatar. Relations with Saudi Arabia and Iraq were friendly, a deputation headed by Shaikh Isa bin Sulman, His Highness's eldest son, represented Bahrain at the coronation of King Faisal in Baghdad.

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

POPULATION

161 The total population of the islands was estimated in 1930
162 at 120,911,[1] of whom 120,656, or 99.8%, were Moslems.[2] More than 100,000 are Baharinah, that is, members of the Shiite sect of Persia, who live mostly in the villages. The rest of the native population are either Sunnites of the Malekite sect or members of the Wahabite faith of Nejd, the principal faith of Saudi Arabia. Among the Sunnite community the most numerous are the Huwala tribe, who are residents of Manama, Muharraq, and Badaiya'a. They are engaged mostly in trade and pearl fishing. The Utūb, to which the local Sheik belongs, the Sādāt, and the Dawasīr are the most influential politically.

Tables 3, 4, and 5 show the distribution of the inhabitants in 1930.

Table 3. MOSLEM POPULATION

Tribes, etc.	Sunnites	Shiites	Total
Utūb	55,000	——	55,000
Bahārinah	——	45,000	45,000
Negroes	11,000	——	11,000
Huwāla	——	2,500	2,500
Persians	100	2,000	2,100
Arabs of Qatif and Hasā	2,000	——	2,000
Dawāsīr	2,000	——	2,000
Arabs of Iraq	200	300	500
Sādāt	400	——	400
Hindus	130	20	150
Turks	6	——	6
	70,836	49,820	120,656

1. The eighteenth census, taken during the war for the purpose of distributing ration coupons, gave a population of approximately 90,000. Since then this number has been augmented and the present population is estimated to be about 105,000.
2. The Moslem population was estimated in 1897 at 68,000.

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

Table 4. NON-MOSLEM POPULATION

Hindus	150
Jews	50
Syrians	60
British	10
Assyro-Chaldeans	5
Total	255

Table 5. SECTS AND TRIBES

Tribe	Race	Sect
Utūb	Zuzara Arabs	Malekites
Bahārinah	Iranians	Shiites
Dawāsīr	Arabs of Nejd	Sahabites
Huwāla	Arabs of Persia	Sunnites

The discovery of oil, the essence of foreign trade and international traffic, has brought a considerable increase in the number of non-Moslem residents. At the present time there are some four or five hundred Christians, mostly employees of the Standard Oil Company, five hundred Jews, and about the same number of Hindus.

TOWNS AND VILLAGES

There are about two hundred centers of population in the islands. The most important are:

Bahrein Island

MANAMA,[1] the largest city and the commercial center of the islands, is located in the northern part of Bahrein. It is traditional headquarters for the pearl fisheries and today is the center of the petroleum industry. At present there are about 45,000 inhabitants. The city has a government operated electric plant which also supplies the city of Muharraq on Muharraq Island, and commercial establishments include an ice plant, a large

1. Manāmah literally means a "scala" or "port."

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

SOCIAL CLASSES AND TENSIONS IN BAHRAIN

Fahim I. Qubain

(See map, facing p. 239.)

ONE OF THE more interesting principalities in the Persian Gulf is the tiny island shaykhdom of Bahrain. Its geographical location, its maritime commerce, and its ancient pearl industry have all combined to create a multi-group society of its small population of about 110,000. On the whole, the country is well and efficiently governed, the various groups in the population have by generations of experience learned to tolerate each other, and crime in the Western sense of the word is almost nonexistent. At the same time, latent tensions exist that can be exploited if the proper circumstances arise. For instance, riots broke out between the Sunnis and the Shi'is during Muharram in September 1953. It took the use of the whole police force and the imposition of a curfew to bring peace back to the country.[1] In July of the following year, when some Shi'is were convicted for being involved in a fight with Sunnis, the whole Shi'i sect staged a demonstration, conducted an attack on a police post during which four Shi'is were killed, and finally all Shi'i workers went on strike.[2] Six months later, in December 1954, another general strike took place in support of demands made to the government for certain reforms which had already been promised by the ruler.[3] We propose, in this article, to examine the nature of these tensions and to evaluate their seriousness for the future.

POPULATION BREAKDOWN AND DISTRIBUTION

Until 1941 only estimates existed regarding the population of the Bahrain cluster of islands. In that year, the government, primarily for food control purposes, conducted the first census in the history of the islands; in 1950 a second census was taken. At that time the population was 109,650.[4] (See Tables I, II, and III.)

[1] Government of Bahrain, *Official Gazette*, September 24, 1953, p. 3.
[2] *Times* (London), July 13, 1954, p. 7.
[3] *Ibid.*, December 6, 1954, p. 7.
[4] Government of Bahrain, *Census 1950* (Bahrain, 1950).

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[See p. 270, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Bahrain MZ2
Kuwait M11
Saudi Arabia MJ1

companies may need to be defined now that one concessionaire seems likely to create revenue; problems may also arise if, as a result of oil developments, it is planted with a population that will need to be endowed with public services and, no doubt, with a system of taxation.

BAHRAIN

The Bahrain Archipelago is a group of islands in the Gulf of Bahrain, which is bounded on the east by the Qatar Peninsula and on the west by the mainland coast of al-Hasa. Its total area is 213 square miles. The principal island—Bahrain itself—is about thirty miles long and ten miles wide. It is low-lying and its northern end is well watered by fresh water springs and produces good date crops. Citrus fruit and lucerne are also grown. The oilfields lie round the rocky cluster of hills known as Jebel Dukhan (Hill of Smoke), which is in the barren centre of the island.

To the north-east of Bahrain Island, and joined to it by a causeway and motor road, is the low, sandy island of Muharraq, and between the two islands is a good deep-water harbour (Khor Kaliya). It is used as a small British naval base; an American admiral also flies his flag there. Nearby there is a second, but shallow harbour (Bahrain harbour), which faces north and is usefully equipped. The natural aerodrome on Muharraq Island has been developed into the largest commercial airfield in the Persian Gulf and now serves the airliners of all nations. It is also used by the RAF, and the whine of jet aircraft is a commonplace. The south end of the island of Bahrain is low-lying and sandy. The climate, though oppressive in summer owing to the prevalent heat and damp of the western shores of the Persian Gulf, is more humid and less windy than that of Kuwait. The population of the Archipelago was 109,650 when a census was taken in 1950.[1]

The capital and the seat of government is the port of Manama.[2] It is generally referred to as Bahrain, and is situated between the two harbours. It has a population of 39,648, which includes many rich Arab, Persian, and Indian merchants, as well as some 300 Europeans and Americans. The second town, Muharraq, on Muharraq Island, has a population of 24,566 which is purely Arab.

The British Political Agency is in Manama town, which also boasts an electricity station, a wireless station, post offices, hospitals, clubs, public gardens, and up-to-date schools. The town is well supplied with good motor roads, and there are

[1] 1952 estimate, 115,000. [2] Population: 1950, 39,648; 1952 (estimate), 45,000.

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bahrain MZ2
Saudi Arabia M31

were to be kept away from all food. That epidemic stopped as if it had been cut off with an ax. There was not another fresh case reported after that day.

Bahrein is full of malaria. One of the city officials came to me not long ago to inquire as to the possibility of putting kerosene oil on the stagnant pools with which Bahrein abounds and so diminishing the amount of that disease. In matters like these the medical missionary has a most wonderful opportunity to be the pioneer in public health service. He hopes to see the day when all such work will be taken up by the governing sheikhs and carried to a point far beyond anything that he can do, but in the meantime helping to get such projects started is one of his keenest pleasures. He is also interested in the creation of an elementary medical literature for these backward communities. Simple pamphlets on malaria have found a wide reading in Basra, and a series of similar popular presentations of the dangers, means of transmission, and treatment of tuberculosis, syphilis, gonorrhea and malaria is projected for Bahrein. This is a work that often taxes the medical missionary to the utmost, for his literary abilities are not always of a high order and his available time is still less adequate, but it is something that he must do.

Not the least charm of work in such a country as Arabia is the number of medical problems that invite investigation. We have, for instance, a large amount of tuberculosis in Arabia, especially in the nomad communities. In America probably seventy-five per cent of all tubercular infections are pulmonary, but in Arabia perhaps less than twenty-five per cent. Just what causes the difference it would be interesting to investigate. One is tempted to speculate on the possibility of Arabian tuber-

132 siderable violence, particularly in June and July and in January and February.

POPULATION AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Population

161 464 At the time of the second census in 1950, the population of Bahrain numbered 109,650, with 91,179 Bahrain subjects and 18,471 foreigners. In addition, about 5,000 Bahrain nationals were believed to be working in other countries, chiefly in Saudi 162 Arabia. Among the foreign residents there were 6,934 Iranians, 3,043 Indians, Pakistanis and Goanese, 2,526 Saudi Arabians, 2,466 Omanis and Muscatis, and 2,208 British and other Europeans and Americans.

144 The Bahrainis represent a medley of Arab and Persian peoples, as well as various Negro admixtures, descendants of former slaves from Africa. The Baharna, the original inhabitants of the islands, are of mixed Arab-Persian origin, while the Arabs derive 795 chiefly from the mainland of Arabia. The population is almost exclusively Moslem: in 1950, only 4 per cent of the local residents belonged to other religious communities, with 2,348 Christians, 975 Hindus and 293 Jews. Both the Shia and the Sunni sects of Islam are prominent. The Baharna and the Iranians are Shiites, while most of the Arabs are Sunnites, including a small contingent which adheres to the Wahhabi 191 branch of central Arabia. Arabic is the national language. Other tongues are employed by the different racial groups, but most educated Bahrainis and town-dwelling laborers are familiar with English.

162 The returns of the 1950 census indicated 632 that almost 62 per cent of the people lived in the 3 main towns of Manama, Muharraq and Hedd, and the remainder in some 80 rural villages and settlements. Manama, the seat of government and the largest town, located on the island of Bahrain, had a population of 39,648. Muharraq, the chief town on the adjacent island, numbered ap-

162 proximately 26,000 residents, and Hedd, a
632 pearl fishing center, around 10,000. The population exceeded that of the 1941 census by almost 20,000: the increase was confined mainly to the towns of Manama and Mu-
[167] harraq, and was attributed in large part to immigration.

871 Since the organization of the first government school in 1919, education has made considerable progress, but expansion is handicapped by a shortage of trained teach-
658 ing personnel. In 1950, the Bahrain govern-
562 ment supported 13 primary schools for boys
872 —8 in the towns and 5 in the villages. Educational facilities were made available to girls in 1928, and at present 6 primary schools are in operation. Of the 5,770 pupils registered in government schools in 1950-51,
871 slightly over 1,700 were girls. A few private
658 schools are established in Manama, while Koranic schools are found in most towns and villages. The government also maintains a secondary school, a technical school and a school hostel for boys, and provides scholarships for qualified students for advanced study at the American University
212 of Beirut and in Great Britain. In the recent census, the literacy rate in the indigenous population was estimated at 10 per cent.

Vital Statistics

659 The registration of births and deaths is
361 not compulsory in Bahrain, and no data for
165 the calculation of vital statistics are obtain-
163 able. Local medical authorities agree that the mortality rates in infancy and early childhood are uniformly high. Observations made by the census enumerators in 1950 suggest that the infant mortality is particularly serious in the rural villages, in contrast with the towns, where living conditions have improved within recent years. The maternal mortality rates are correspondingly high.

161 The size of the population remained
165 practically stationary in the rural districts
163 in the 9-year interval between the first and the second census surveys. The rate of increase in areas outside the towns of Ma-

1. 256 (B)

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
MI Middle East
BAHRAIN MZ2

nama, Muharraq and Hedd and the 3 villages of East and West Rafaa and Sakhir was less than 1 per cent.

Social Economy

Prior to the opening of the Bahrain oil fields, the economy of the islands was based upon pearl fishing and the transshipment of goods between Iran, India and other countries and the neighboring Arabian ports. The waters of the Persian Gulf contain famous pearl fishing banks, and, since ancient times, Bahrain has been recognized as the traditional center of the industry. It constituted the principal source of wealth for centuries, but it reached a low level in the 1920s, due in part to the competition of Japanese cultured pearls in the world markets. Early records are nonexistent, but the former Bahrain pearl fleets probably consisted of 600 to 1,000 vessels. The number has declined progressively: only 83 departed for the banks in 1950. In that year, about 2,000 Bahrainis were engaged in pearl fishing during the season from mid-April to October, undoubtedly a fraction of the total employed when the demand for pearls was at its height.

In previous decades, dhow building also was one of the major industries of Bahrain, but its decline has paralleled that of the pearl fisheries. Nine boats were constructed in 1949, as against 100 reported in 1928-29.

Today, oil is the foundation of Bahrain's prosperity. The royalties derived from the industry not only have bolstered the declining resources of the government, but have made possible the expansion of public works and social services. Operations are conducted by the Bahrain Petroleum Company, Ltd., which holds long-term concessions from the Sheikh of Bahrain for the development of the petroleum resources of the islands. Oil was discovered in the Jabal ad Dukhan region, near the center of Bahrain Island, in 1932, and production started in 1934. The proven reserves of this field are estimated in the neighborhood of 200 million barrels. The company also operates a

p. 257(A)

occurred intermittently in the past, chiefly in Manama and Muharraq. The islands are exposed to the introduction of the disease from neighboring territories, but the enforcement of quarantine regulations has prevented its establishment for several decades.

Other Infections. Although a mild degree of louse infestation occurs among the inhabitants in some congested areas, louse-borne typhus is rarely, if ever, reported. Imported cases of cutaneous leishmaniasis, or Oriental sore, and filariasis are occasionally treated in the local medical institutions, but the insect vectors are not known to be present, and indigenous infections have not been recorded. Guinea worm infection is sometimes seen among persons from Iran, but it is not found in the resident population.

Nutritional Diseases

The standards of nutrition have improved materially in the last few years. Undernutrition is common, but serious defects are seen primarily among the inhabitants of outlying villages and the families of workers from the mainland. Poverty, traditional dietary customs and intestinal parasitism are contributory factors. Subclinical deficiencies in vitamin C are widespread, and scurvy is observed from time to time. Rickets is frequent among the children in the towns. Anemia is prevalent, and hemoglobin levels of 25 to 30 per cent are not unusual among the women.

SUMMARY

Bahrain is an independent sheikhdom which consists of an archipelago of 5 main islands situated in the Persian Gulf near the coast of Arabia. It has long been famous as a pearl fishing center, and, since 1932, has enjoyed prosperity as an oil-producing area. It has a heterogeneous population which numbered 109,650 in 1950, including 18,471 foreigners. The people are predominantly of mixed Arab and Persian origin, and about 96 per cent are Moslems.

p. 264(B)

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 M1 Middle East
Bahrein MZ

Company Policies and Activities

471 In accordance with the conditions of the concession, laid
464 down by the British Colonial Office, Bapco employed a considerable number of Bahreinis in its undertakings, almost exclusively in the lower grades. The total number of employees in 1948 was 6,078, and of these 4,650 were local employees.
[161] While this was only 4.23 per cent of the total population, then estimated at about 110,000,[18] it was 76.5 per cent of the total employed by the company. The staff was increased in 1951 to 7,749, and of this number 4,937 were Bahrein nationals.[19] This drop in the percentage of native employees, from 76.5 to 64, was not the result of Company policy but was due to the greater demand for workers in the expanded oil-producing areas of the Gulf—Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Qatar. Many Bahreinis, finding the wages offered in other areas more attractive, left their home islands, which made it necessary for Bapco to employ more foreigners such as Indians, Pakistanis, Persians and others. This created a peculiar phenomenon: educated and semi-educated Bahreinis sought work abroad, while destitute foreigners flocked to the islands.

471 In addition to direct payments in revenue and indirect pay-
466 ments in terms of wages and purchases of local materials for the operation of the concession, the Company contributed directly to many social and economic projects aimed at bettering the general conditions; these included housing, electric lighting, water supply, and sanitary facilities. It operated a hospital and clinics, and also subsidized the American Mission Hospital. In the field of education it assisted the Government's technical school for native boys; upon graduation students from that school were employed by the Company, which provided further mechanical training.[20] It also cooperated in many agricultural and irrigation projects.[21]

471 However, the impact of the oil industry on the people of
651 Bahrein came primarily from the utilization of the revenue from the oil. The oil payments were divided into three parts:

[18] Max Steineke and M. P. Yackel estimated the population at about 125,000, "Saudi Arabia and Bahrein," in *World Geography* (Princeton, 1950), 226.
[19] U.N., *Review 1949-50*, 60;—*Summary 1952-53*, 58.
[20] The Bapco training program is described by its vice-president, Russel M. Brown, "Schooling in Skills," *Oil Lifestream of Progress*, IV, 6-8, Oct., 1954.
[21] U. S. Senate, *American Petroleum Interests in Foreign Countries*, 288-289.